

Indiana

1864 State Election

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# The 1864 Election

## Indiana's State Election

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the  
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

#### The Sentinel Gives up the State.

No sensible man has doubted since the State election, that Indiana would cast her vote for Lincoln and Johnson, but the Copperhead organs in general, and the State Sentinel in particular, have insisted that the Union-State ticket was elected by fraudulent means, and that the Democrats could carry Indiana for McClellan. That sort of balderdash having been sent over the country, as an incentive to Copperhead frauds elsewhere—witness the New York soldier vote swindle—the Sentinel makes a clean breast of its utter failure of hope in the Presidential election, in the following language:

We hear that there is quite a controversy going on, in different parts of the State, between the friends of Morton and the friends of old Abe, as to which is the strongest in this State. Abe's friends contend that he is 20,000 stronger than Morton, while the friends of the Governor contend that he got more votes than Lincoln will get. As the friends of Morton have an eye to the future Presidency, they feel some anxiety to know the result of the coming election. As Lincoln controls more offices than Morton, we are willing to bet Abe beats him. He did in '60, and he will do it in '64.

Governor Morton will be well pleased to see Mr. Lincoln's majority twice as large as his, and we trust that our Union friends will use every honorable effort to give 40,000 majority on next Tuesday.

*Ind. Daily Journal. 11-5-'64*

### Voting in Indiana.

There are some facts in connection with the recent election in Indiana which we wish the fair men of the Abolition party to look at. We think they show the manner in which the Abolition faction was enabled to escape a thorough and ruinous defeat in that State on the 11th. The facts are these: In Wayne township and city of Fort Wayne, Allen county, which are Democratic, 3,098 persons, between the ages of 20 and 45, were enrolled for military service, and the vote polled was 2,878. Now, mark the contrast. In Indianapolis and township, which are controlled by the Abolitionists, 4,762 persons were enrolled for military service, and the majority for Morton, the Abolition candidate for Governor, is claimed to be 6,187, and the total vote polled is 9,357. This difference is worthy of attention. It shows the means by which the Abolition party are endeavoring to cheat the people out of their rights, and make the elective franchise a farce.

But one more fact: In a Democratic county, where the judges of the election acted under the solemnity of an oath, and in strict accordance with the election laws of the State, out of four hundred and fifty soldiers who were brought to the polls only seventy-two would take the oath and submit the proofs that would entitle them to deposit their ballots. And yet, in an adjoining county, where the Abolitionists ruled the polls, two regiments of Massachusetts soldiers, with their State numbers on their caps, were allowed to vote and in this way nullify the wishes of the legal voters of Indiana.

THERE probably was more fraud and villainy perpetrated by the friends of Gov. Morton, of Indiana, on Tuesday, than ever disgraced any election in a free State before. Every species of rascality was resorted to. There was open and undisguised military interference with the election. Gen. Hovey declared, in a public speech, that the State should not go Democratic if he could prevent it. He did all he could with his bayonets to prevent it. The Democratic press was muzzled; its editors were thrown into prison on the eve of election. Its leading Democratic citizens were seized by soldiers. A general reign of terror was inaugurated in the State.

### How Gov. Morton was Re-Elected.

The *Pittsburg Republicaner*, a German paper, contains the following remarkable statement:

PITTSBURG, Oct. 14, '64.

I, George Stumpf, member of the 7th Pennsylvania cavalry and attached on the music corps, do hereby certify, that altho' formerly a resident of Pittsburg, *en route* from Atlanta to Pittsburg, was requested together with about 2,000 other soldiers by the officers in Indianapolis, at which place we arrived at 4 o'clock in the morning of election day, to vote the Republican State ticket. A great part of the soldiers were Germans. At the depot were carriages which took us to the polls, and many of the soldiers voted twice and three times. We handed our votes into a window, and nobody asked us whether we had a right to vote or whether we formerly resided in the State. Afterwards we were treated with ale and all other things we might eat or drink. I am convinced that every soldier of the 2,000 voted once, and many two or three times, although we belonged to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Maryland and other States. - At 8.30 p. m. started the soldiers of the Pennsylvania regiments to Crestline, and the Soldiers of other States to other places.

[Signed]

GEORGE STUMPF,  
7th Pa. Cavalry.

1862. *Emancipator*. 1862. 1862.



# Memorable Canvass Between Gov. Morton and J. E. McDonald in 1864—Some Exciting Times and Incidents, and How Much of an Issue Was Made of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

Oliver P. Morton was nominated for Governor by the Republicans of Indiana as their first candidate for Governor in 1856. History developed rapidly between that date and 1860. The Democratic party became sectional. The Southern Whigs melted away, their membership being absorbed by the proslavery Democratic party, and many Northern Democrats wheeled into line in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska proslavery party.

Although Morton received the largest vote of any candidate on the Republican ticket he was defeated by Ashbel P. Willard, the Democratic candidate for Governor. Many persons have since declared that Morton's defeat was providential. If he had been elected Governor in 1856 he could not have been a candidate for Lieutenant Governor in 1860; Henry S. Lane, who was chosen Governor, would not have been United States senator, and Morton would not have become war Governor. No one can predict what would have happened in Indiana, or to the Union, had such been the case.

One of the first important duties that devolved on Morton as Governor was the appointment of peace commissioners, called to adjust the differences between the North and South. This commission had been called by the General Assembly of Virginia, and the different states were asked to send delegates. This convention met Feb. 4 at Washington. The Indiana Legislature, on the 21st of January, passed a joint resolution authorizing the appointment of five delegates. Governor Morton appointed Caleb B. Smith, Pleasant A. Hackleman, Godlove S. Orth, Thomas C. Slaughter and Erastus W. H. Ellis, all Republicans. Before appointing them the Governor addressed each a personal letter, asking them if they would favor any proposition of compromise that would involve an amendment to the constitution, recognizing or granting the extension of slavery into territory now free; each answered in the negative. President Lincoln said to this convention:

"Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do, they have us under again; all our labor is lost, and sooner or later has to be done over. The tug has to come and better now than later."

It will be remembered that the Peace Congress occupied its time in discussing every conceivable sort of impracticable proposition for compromises, none of which were seriously entertained, and that body met with no success. That congress became the laughing stock of the whole country and showed the impracticability of attempting a compromise on the great issues of the day.

When the Legislature of 1862 met the Governor reported that the state had contributed to the army 102,698 men. In July, 1862, the President called for 300,000 volunteers. On the 5th of August, 1862, he called for a second 300,000, to be raised by draft in case volunteers could not be procured.

Indiana's quota under these calls was 42,500. Both calls were filled by volunteers except 6,000, for which it became necessary to order a draft.

Governor Morton, Lincoln and every Union man in Indiana felt that the draft would aid the Democrats in the pending canvass, but the necessity for soldiers was more important than the election, and on the 6th of October came the draft for the number due from 330 townships, 3,003. The Democrats carried the state ticket and the Legislature by a large majority.

## Morton Solves Ammunition Problem.

When our first regiments were ready to take the field they were unprovided with ammunition. As none could be readily procured, it became necessary to have it prepared. Accordingly Governor Morton detailed Lieut. Col. Herman Sturm of the Fifty-fourth Regiment, who had studied the art in Europe, to prepare the same. He succeeded in the enterprise from the beginning, and his ammunition was pronounced the very best in use, and what was intended as a temporary convenience became a large and permanent establishment, which was managed with great success and ability, furnishing ammunition of every description, not only for our own

## Principals in Notable Political Debate



OLIVER P. MORTON

JOSEPH E. McDONALD

## Work of Knights of Golden Circle.

The Legislature of 1862-3 was largely Democratic. In the meantime the organization known as the Sons of Liberty and Knights of the Golden Circle, which had for its purpose opposition to the war, was very extensively organized, and a number of soldiers initiated. This created great alarm, both here and in Washington, and vigorous measures were resorted to to put it down and eradicate it from the army. The first principal witness who divulged its existence in the camp was soon after missing, and has not been heard of since by his friends or family.

The session of the Legislature following was distinguished, in the beginning, by the most revolutionary and insulting measures. The message of the Governor was returned to him by the majority of the House and a resolution passed accepting the message of the Copperhead Governor Seymour of New York. Resolutions of the most incendiary and treasonable character followed each other in quick succession, and the brief time of the session was consumed by the most inflammatory speeches, denouncing the government and the further prosecution of the war, a military bill depriving the Governor of power conferred on him by the constitution and placing the same in the hands of three Democratic state officers—Auditor Ristine, Secretary of State Athon and Attorney General Hord—all of whom were believed to be members of the treasonable organization.

In order to prevent this revolution the Republicans broke up the Legislature, which refused to pass the ordinary appropriation bills to carry on the state, to pay the interest on the public debt or provide for the penal and benevolent institutions.

The Governor appealed to the loyal people of the state to stand by him in this emergency, and they did.

troops, going to the front, but sending large quantities to the armies in the field, when they could not procure it in time from the regular arsenals. Serious disasters were thereby avoided, and when the war was closed it was found that the entire transactions of the arsenal amounted to \$788,828.45, and that the state had realized a clean profit of \$77,457.32, of which \$71,380.01 was in cash and the remainder in stock and tools.

On the 1st of January, 1866, Governor Morton commissioned Gen. Sturm, brigadier general in the Indiana Legion as a partial recognition in the management of the arsenal.

The money to conduct this arsenal was borrowed by Gen. Sturm from Fletcher & Sharpe's Bank, on his own notes, being repaid out of money received from the government for ammunition furnished.

The government was unable to supply first-class arms to our troops, the Indiana troops being armed with Austrian muskets. Governor Morton appointed Calvin Fletcher and his son, Prof. Miles J. Fletcher, who at that time was superintendent of public instruction, to proceed to the manufacturers of arms in the Eastern states and Canada. He afterward appointed the Hon. Robert Dale Owen, who spent over a year in visiting manufacturers and dealers in New York and elsewhere to purchase arms.



...ties, banks, railroad companies, private individuals and the President of the United States came forward and supplied him with money for all necessary purposes. Thus the danger passed by and the government of the state went on. The Governor negotiated and arranged with the loyal bank of Winslow, Lamlar & Co. of New York, to pay the interest on the state debt up to 1865, thus preserving her credit and defeating the machinations of her enemies.

#### Work of Securing Troops Hard.

During all this time the state authorities labored without ceasing to supply the troops called for by the President. The task had become one of great difficulty and through the incessant exertions of Democratic leaders and the fierce denunciation of their press the spirit of volunteering was greatly weakened and sometimes apparently destroyed, but would again revive and go forward with success. The number of troops raised in the state, under the circumstances, and their splendid behavior in the field excited universal admiration.

The difficulty, however, in procuring volunteers greatly increased in 1863-4, as the organization of the Sons of Liberty was extended and consolidated and their hostilities to the government and war became more open. Enrolling officers were murdered, recruiting officers shot at upon lonely roads and various schemes of insurrection and murder were frequently formed in the secret lodges of this order, which fell through from time to time, and others succeeded, until in the spring and summer of 1864 a definite plan of revolution was agreed upon, to the execution of which all the energy and power of the order in Indiana and the Western states were to be directed.

The arms and ammunition at Indianapolis were to be seized, rebel prisoners at Camp Morton to be released and armed and the combined forces, after murdering the Governor and seizing the Capitol, were to march through the state, raising the standard of revolt in favor of the Confederacy. The arming of the bands had been going on for two or three years, but the unexpected discovery of large quantities of arms and ammunition, seized in the offices of H. H. Dodd, addressed to J. J. Parsons, marked "Sunday school books," brought matters to a head.

#### Ringleaders Arrested by Hovey.

The ringleaders were arrested by Gen. Hovey and tried by a military commission in this city and sentenced to death on the testimony of some of their members, who turned state's evidence and laid bare a desperate plot, which, for magnitude and deliberate wickedness, is almost without parallel in the annals of crime. Their sentences, however, were finally commuted to life in the Ohio State Penitentiary, but they were afterward released by President Johnson, because he believed that the commission which tried them had no jurisdiction in the case, the state and federal courts in the state of Indiana being open.

About the time the Military Commission was convened Horace Heffren and some of his friends solicited the Hon. M. C. Kerr, member of Congress from the Second District, to become a member, and they afterward declared that they had administered the oath to him in a saddler's shop at Washington, Ind. This Mr. Kerr stoutly denied and threatened Heffren and his associates with exposure. He visited Indianapolis and informed the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, who had in the meantime been nominated by the Democrats for Governor, of the existence of this order. McDonald told Kerr to inform Governor Morton. The order went to pieces, by reason of the evidence daily produced before the commission, and the activity of Governor Morton's secret agents.

During the time the commission was in session Governor Morton received a tip to the effect that the rebel commissioners in Canada had shipped to the treasurer of the Sons of Liberty in this city, \$30,000 in gold by the Adams Express Company, and was making preparations to attach the same, but before United States District Attorney John Hanna could prepare and serve the papers and have them served on the agents of the express company, the company became alarmed and shipped the gold out of the state. The express agent, John H. Orr, did not deny having the gold at the time, but said he had nothing addressed to the agent of the Knights of the Golden Circle, and exhibited the contents of his safe to the United States marshal, D. G. Rose, who served the papers.

#### McDonald Nominated for Governor.

As the time approached for the Democratic state convention the Democrats were at sea for a candidate. Early in April Mr. McDonald declined the use of his name, but as time went on the state convention was called for July 12. Val-

erious of Ohio by 100,000, and it would not do to nominate a man with the same extreme views. Indiana and the Democrats who hoped for victory turned toward McDonald. His only competitor was L. P. Milligan, a man afterward condemned to death by the Military Commission for his treasonable practices in connection with the Sons of Liberty. McDonald received 1,097 votes and Milligan 167.

David Turpie was nominated for Lieutenant Governor, but declined the nomination for Congress in the South Bend district against Mr. Colfax.

The Democratic committee placed the name of Gen. M. D. Manson in his stead upon the ticket.

Shortly after McDonald's nomination arrangements for general debates between him and Morton were agreed upon. Two were to be held in each congressional district. Morton selected half the places and McDonald the other half. Morton chose Republican counties and McDonald Democratic counties. The time was to be equally divided and a right to open and close the debates was given alternately to each. Morton had the first choice, and he selected the town of LaPorte, in northern Indiana. The first debate occurred on Aug. 11, 1864, Morton opening in a speech of an hour, and was followed by McDonald in an hour and a half, Morton closing in a speech of a half hour.

As soon as the candidates were seated on the stand Governor Morton said in an undertone to Mr. McDonald: "I understand a large number of your friends are on the ground and armed." Mr. McDonald replied: "I have no doubt both parties are largely armed, but if we do not lose our heads we can control them and preserve peace." Morton opened the debate and confined his remarks largely to replying to a speech made by Mr. McDonald at Greencastle the week before, in which McDonald declared "that the war so far had been a failure and he was in favor of trying some other method of settling our differences with the South."

Morton asked him to explain in what his methods consisted. He (Morton) knew of but one method to suppress the rebellion, and that was to fight. A number of persons in the audience cried out: "Name your methods." Morton said: "There can be no neutrals in this war. There is no half-way house. There is no place in the Constitution where a man can stand midway between the rebellion and the government. The gentleman's proposition amounts to this: Because this war is prosecuted on a policy which he does not approve, he is opposed to its further prosecution; is in favor of its abandonment, and of bringing upon the country all the consequences which attend defeat, dishonor and dissolution. I want him to say whether he is in favor of the prosecution of this war in any manner for the suppression of the rebellion. If he is not in favor of prosecuting it for the suppression of the rebellion, he is in favor of the abandonment of the war and the acknowledgment of the rebel confederacy. I want a peace that shall be lasting, and not one that will transfer the war from the Southern states to Ohio, Indiana, New York and Pennsylvania."

He then spent some time in discussing local questions which have been long settled and are of no further interest. In his reply, Mr. McDonald said:

"This country was made for one people, but after having tried this war for three years and a half, I say it is time to try some other remedy."

#### Audience Wants "Other Remedy."

Here the audience became clamorous in their demands for "the other remedy."

The weak point in McDonald's argument was his reference to "the other remedy." He did not name it, and the vociferous demand that he should do so showed that the audience penetrated the vital defect of the Democratic position.

No man ever conducted a political canvass under greater embarrassment than McDonald. Each day he was confronted with some new embarrassment by reason of testimony elicited in regard to the Knights of the Golden Circle before the Military Commission, then in session, as to the infamous and brutal conduct of the rebel officers in charge of Andersonville and other prisons.

The joint canvass continued until near the election. Among the more important meetings was that at Covington in October.

The Democrats expected to make a great success of this meeting, it being Mr. McDonald's former home, where he was deservedly popular. A week before the debate Joseph W. Nichol, a prominent and enthusiastic young Democratic attorney, and nephew of Joseph E. McDon-

ald, mounted a stand in the Fair Grounds during the big day of the Fountain County Fair and said in a loud voice: "A political debate will occur in these grounds one week from today between the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald and the dishonorable Oliver P. Morton, rival candidates for Governor, and all are invited to attend."

Maybe this did not make the Republicans angry! And as soon as they recovered their breath Nichol was answered by cheers for Morton. The Democrats followed with cheers for McDonald. That night the leading Republicans of Covington had a meeting and determined to get out every Republican in the county to hear the debate and they appointed committees to visit every Republican in the county and urge them to be present and every member of their families to turn out. Each person was promised a good dinner by some Republican family in Covington.

As a consequence the Republican procession was more than twice as large as that of the Democrats, and the Hon. E. H. Nebeker, treasurer of the United States under President Harrison, recently told me that it was the largest procession he ever saw before or since. A few days before the debate was to occur the Democrats learned that a saloon keeper, Casper Salmon, who afterward moved to Indianapolis and kept a saloon in a little frame building on the north end of where the Odd Fellows' Grand Lodge Building now stands, had procured a six-pound iron cannon and loaded it with pieces of iron, brickbats, etc., which they proposed to turn upon the Republican procession.

#### McDonald Is Indignant.

As they approached his saloon Mr. McDonald's friends learned of their intention and forcibly took possession of the same, unloaded and spiked the gun and locked it up in a cellar. McDonald was justly indignant and said, if any class of hot-headed partisans were permitted to create any kind of disturbance in Covington on the day of the debate it would cause his defeat, and if the persons who had loaded that cannon had attempted to fire the same at the Republican procession he would have resigned from the ticket and assisted in the prosecution of the guilty parties.

Before the debate had fairly commenced it was evident that the Democrats had organized to cheer McDonald, for the purpose of embarrassing Morton. It was soon apparent, however, that the Republicans were present in even larger numbers than the Democrats, and they outcheered their opponents.

Morton said that "while McDonald was not a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle, the organization was composed of his political friends, and he must be judged by the company he keeps."

One of the last debates occurred at Lawrenceburg. En route for that city Morton and McDonald rode on the same train. They went together in a forward car to smoke. Before reaching Lawrenceburg a small cyclone blew the train from the track, and it rolled down the embankment. There was no way out except through the windows, which were now on top. Morton crawled out, followed by McDonald.

McDonald was accompanied by several Democrats from Indianapolis. When they entered the car at the station Morton said to me: "He is going to spring something new today."

On their arrival at Lawrenceburg McDonald accepted an invitation to dine out. Afterward he said he had made a mistake by eating a hearty meal of fried chicken, which caused him to arrive at the meeting which he was to open nearly half an hour late. In the meantime Chaplain Lozier occupied the time by singing patriotic songs, and when McDonald arrived the audience was in no humor to listen to adverse criticisms of the war or Lincoln's administration.

Mr. McDonald opened the debate by proposing to join Morton in an address to the people, warning them against the dangers of secret political societies, asking them to abandon all such organizations and lay aside their arms. He contended that the Union League was an armed political organization that ought to be disbanded. Morton, in reply, said:

"I want the audience to understand this proposition, in which Mr. McDonald admits there is such an organization as 'the Knights of the Golden Circle,' but God helping me, I will never consent to place the Union League on equal footing with that treasonable order."

At this declaration the union men in



the audience leaped to their feet and cheered for several moments, to the great discomfort of McDonald and his friends.

Morton said the Union League was not a secret organization. It was pledged to save the constitution and the flag. It had been dragged in by McDonald to excuse and defend the "Knights of the Golden Circle." In some of the border counties the Union League might have provided itself with arms for use against the rebels, but not against their neighbors!

Here again the audience arose and cheered loudly.

Morton closed by referring to the seizure of arms belonging to the "Sons of Liberty" within the last few days at Indianapolis which were worth \$75,000. They were purchased by money provided by the rebel government.

Morton said that if McDonald would say that the "Knights of the Golden Circle" were under his orders, that would put a different form on the proposition. Vallandigham commanded it, not McDonald. At this meeting the tide of enthusiasm had set in so strongly in favor of Morton that nothing could be done to stem it.

McDonald's reply was short and spiritless. He could with difficulty command attention. He did not then attempt an answer to Morton's question.

#### Democrats Unable to Stay Tide.

Lawrenceburg was the county seat of a Democratic county. It was a place of McDonald's own choosing. He had the opening and closing of the debate, but he was unable to stay the tide of patriotic feeling that swept over the audience, and after that the campaign on the part of the Democrats seems to have been abandoned.

The next debate occurred at Versailles, Ripley County, the day following. When Morton and his friends arrived they found that handbills had been circulated over the county, stating that McDonald would not be present at that debate, and the assertion that he would be was made by abolitionists to get Democrats out to hear Morton. The local Democrats charged that these bills had been circu-

lated by Republicans, which was stoutly denied.

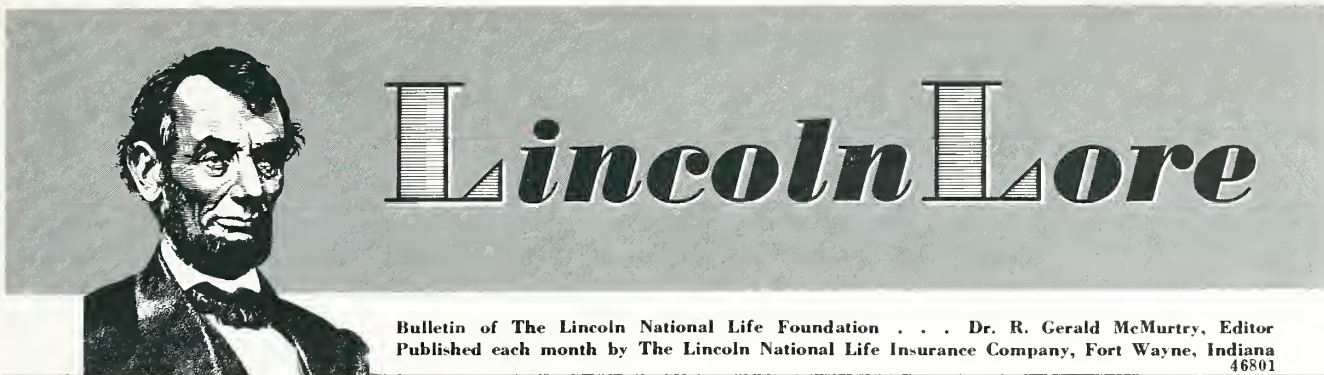
Their last debate occurred at Peru the following week. It had been the custom at each of the places where debates occurred for the political parties to meet their candidates at the railroad station on their arrival with a procession and escort them through the city, but at Peru the party managers had become so discouraged that not a single person met McDonald, and he was forced to walk to his hotel, carrying his own grip.

Governor Morton invited McDonald to ride with him uptown, but he declined. This debate, like its predecessors, ended in a complete victory for Morton and resulted in his election by over 20,000 majority.

The editor of the Wabash Express, speaking of Morton's victory, said:

"With a majority of 10,000 against him two years ago, he comes out of this contest with more than 20,000 majority over his competitor. No other man could have achieved as much. This great change in popular opinion is owing more to the masterly manner in which he handled the thrilling issues of the day than to anything else. Wherever he spoke a flood of brilliant light followed him, which could be plainly seen by the unwilling."





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## The Indiana Election—October 11, 1864

In the month of October, 1864, the strength of the Union (Republican) Party was to be tested by state contests to be held in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. The Republican political prognosticators "had not dared hope for victory in Indiana."

There were certain problems confronting the Republicans in Indiana. Thousands of their voters had gone to war and the State constitution provided that these men must cast their ballots in the precincts in which they respectively resided. No law could be passed, as in other states, allowing them to vote in the field.

While it was believed that the great majority of Indiana's soldiers would vote Republican, the Democrats insisted that the soldiers were of their political faith. Leaders of both parties requested Republican Governor Oliver P. Morton, himself a candidate for re-election, to apply for furloughs for all legal Indiana voters. This he agreed to do.

In fact, Morton had already taken action in this direction and, as early as April, 1864, he had requested the Washington authorities "to permit our soldiers to come home and vote . . ." On a recent visit to Washington, he had again renewed his request. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton agreed with Morton and willingly co-operated with him, even accompanying the Governor in a meeting with President Lincoln.

In the interview with Lincoln, Morton expressed his belief that the votes of 15,000 soldiers were necessary to win the election for the Republicans. He further stated that, "if Indiana went Democratic, she would be withdrawn from the column of loyal states and would no longer furnish any substantial aid to the government." According to William Dudley Foulke in his *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, Vol. I, page 366, Lincoln answered: "It is better that we should both be beaten than that the forces in front of the enemy should be weakened and perhaps defeated on account of the absence of these men."

Another problem confronting the Indiana Republicans was a military draft to be held the latter part of September. Earlier drafts had caused a bitter feeling and, coming so near the October 11th State election, spelled political disaster in the minds of many timid Republican politicians. Morton had asked the President to delay the draft until after the State election, but Lincoln had refused.

Accordingly, Morton wrote to the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, on September 12, 1864, the following letter, which was signed by him and fifteen influential Indiana Republicans:

"Sir—Assembled from the different parts of Indiana, and practically familiar with the influences now at work in each congressional district of the state, we express it as our profound conviction that upon the issue of the election that occurs within a month from this date may depend the question as to whether the secession element shall be effectually crushed or whether it shall acquire strength enough, we do not say to take the state out of the Union, but practically to sever her from the general government, so far as future military aid is concerned.

"We further express the gravest doubts as to whether

Executive mansion,  
Washington, D.C.  
September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1864

Major General Sherman,

The State election of Indiana occurs on the 11<sup>th</sup> of October, and the loss of it to the friends of the Government would go far towards losing the whole Union cause. The bad effect upon the November election, and especially the giving the State Government to those who will oppose the war in every possible way, are too much to risk, if it can possibly be avoided. The draft proceeds, notwithstanding its strong tendency to lose us the State. Indiana is the only important State, voting in October, whose soldiers cannot vote in the field. Any thing you can safely do to let her soldiers, or any part of them, go home and vote at the State election, will be pretty in point. They need not remain for the Presidential election, but may return to you at once. This is, in no sense, an order, but is merely intended to

impress you with the importance, to the army's staff, of your doing all you safely can, yourself being the judge of what you can safely do

Yours truly  
Abraham Lincoln

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Abraham Lincoln to Major-General Sherman, September 19th, 1864, L. S., 2 pages, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".



it will be possible for us to secure success at the polls on the 11th of October unless we can receive aid—

"1. By delay of the draft until the election has passed.

"2. By the return, before election day, of fifteen thousand Indiana soldiers.

"As to the draft, we propose an informal delay only, of which no public notice need be given. Reason sufficient will suggest itself in the time necessary to adjust the local quotas of townships, towns and cities, without the careful settlement of which, great dissatisfaction, even among the loyal, can not be avoided.

"Volunteering is going on rapidly at this moment, and we have no hesitation in expressing the confident opinion that if the draft be delayed, and fifteen thousand Indiana troops be ordered home before the election, with suitable arrangements for recruiting, Indiana's entire quota can and will be filled by volunteering within two weeks after election day. She is at this time ahead, after filling former quotas, fully fifteen thousand three years' men.

"Thus the government will obtain the recruits it has demanded about as soon as by pressing compulsory measures at once, and it will secure itself against the possible loss of the power and influence of the state for years to come.

"If the draft is enforced before the election there may be required half as many men to enforce it as we ask to secure the election. Difficulty may reasonably be anticipated in from twenty to twenty-five counties. If the draft goes on immediately after the election, the soldiers will be on the spot to secure its being carried into effect, should that be necessary. But we are confident that if our propositions are adopted no draft will be needed at all.

"The case of Indiana is peculiar. She has, probably, a larger proportion of inhabitants of Southern birth or parentage—many of them, of course, with Southern proclivities—than any other free state, and she is one of the few states in which soldiers are disfranchised.

"It is not on the score of Indiana's past deserts that we ask this assistance. All such considerations must give way before the public good. We ask it because the burden of this political contest is heavier than we can bear. Nor have we asked it before exhausting every effort which loyal men can make for their country. We ask it for that country's sake. We ask it, because we feel absolutely assured that in this way more readily and more speedily than in any other can the general government accomplish the object it proposes.

"If it were possible that you could see and hear what we, in the last month, each in his own section of country, have seen and heard, no word from us would be needed. You would need no argument to prove that a crisis, full of danger to the entire North-west, is at hand.

"We do not expect any general commanding, engrossed with vast military operations, to realize this. And therefore, while of course we do not urge any withdrawal of troops that would imperil the situation in Georgia or elsewhere, we suggest that a mere re-

quest to General Sherman, or other commander, to send home, or not send home, the troops in question, as he might think best, unaccompanied by an expression of the urgent desire of the government in the premises, and a view of the vast interests at stake, would be of no avail. No commander willingly diminishes his command. To what extent it may be prudent or proper to make the order imperative, we, not having the entire situation before us, can not judge. We hope you will see, in our most precarious condition, cause sufficient to do so.

"The result of the state election, whether favorable or unfavorable to the government, will carry with it, beyond a doubt, that of the Presidential vote of Indiana.

"All which is respectfully submitted,

"O. P. Morton.

"E. Dumont, 6th District.

"Godlove S. Orth, 8th District.

"C. M. Allen, 1st District.

"Thomas N. Stillwell, 11th District.

"Ralph Hill, 3d District.

"John H. Farquhar, 4th District.

"James G. Jones, A. A. P. Marshal-General.

"W. W. Curry, 2d District.

"J. H. Defrees, 10th District.

"S. Colfax, 9th District.

"John L. Mansfield, Maj.-Gen. Ind. Legion.

"James Park, Capt. P. Mar. 8th District Ind.

"Charles A. Ray, Judge 12th District.

"A. H. Conner, Postmaster, Indianapolis, Ind.

"J. T. Wright, Ch. St. Cent. Com.

"Indianapolis, September 12, 1864."

As a result of the efforts of the Indiana Republicans in general and Governor Morton in particular, Lincoln wrote General William T. Sherman, whose headquarters from early September, 1864, until October 4th was in Atlanta, Georgia, as follows:

Executive Mansion,  
Washington, D. C.  
September 19th, 1864.

Major General Sherman,

The State election of Indiana occurs on the 11th of October, and the loss of it to the friends of the Government would go far towards losing the whole Union cause. The bad effect upon the November election, and especially the giving the State Government to those who will oppose the war in every possible way, are too much to risk, if it can possibly be avoided. The draft proceeds, notwithstanding its strong tendency to lose us the State. Indiana is the only important State, voting in October, whose soldiers cannot vote in the field. Any thing you can safely do to let her soldiers, or any part of them, go home and vote at the State election, will be greatly in point. They need not remain for the Presidential election, but may return to you at once. This is, in no sense, an order, but is merely intended to impress you with the importance, to the army itself, of your doing all you safely can, yourself being the judge of what you can safely do.

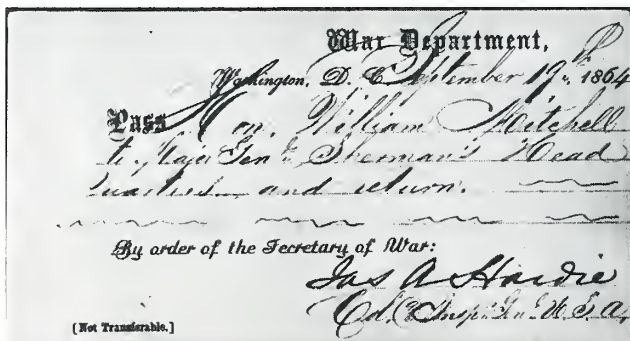
Yours truly

A. Lincoln

This letter appears to have been dictated by Lincoln, but is in the handwriting of his secretary, John Hay, or some other accomplished scribe. The words, "Yours truly," and the signature, "A. Lincoln," are in the handwriting of the President.

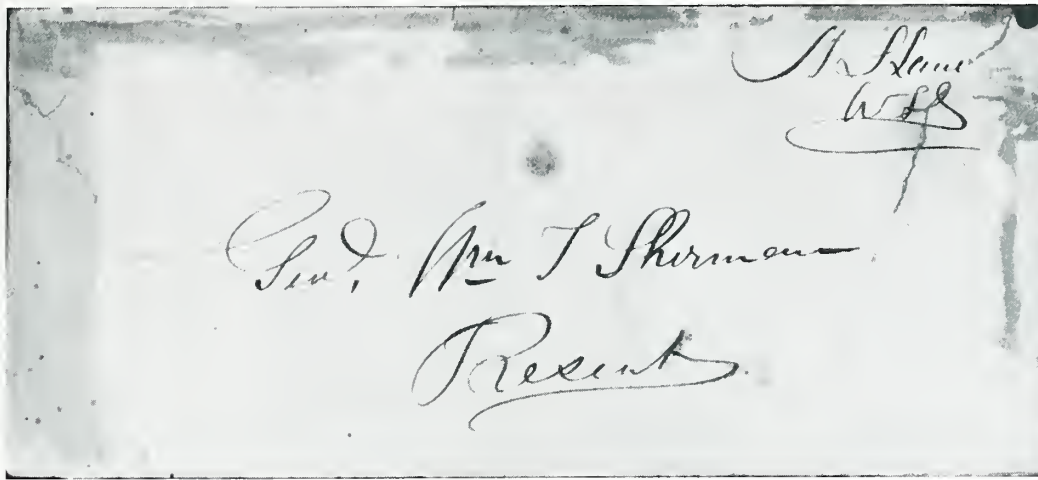
Lincoln's letter to Sherman was carried by William Mitchell, a former representative from Indiana (1861-1863) and president of the First National Bank of Kendallville, Indiana. He was accompanied by J. J. Brown of New Albany, Indiana, who in a letter addressed to John Mitchell dated March 15, 1888, stated that: "I accompanied your father in the trip from Washington to Shilo. Two others were appointed. None went to Sherman's Army but your father and myself."

The mention by Brown of Shilo is puzzling. E. B. "Pete" Long of The University of Wyoming, Laramie, made the following comment: "Shiloh was often spelled 'Shilo' and there were a number of such named places, usually churches. I know of none in Georgia and the



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

For information concerning Gen. James A. Hardie, see *Generals in Blue* by Ezra J. Warner, Louisiana State University Press, 1964, pages 204-205.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

The original envelope which contained Lincoln's letter to Sherman, September 19th, 1864. H. S. Lane, presumably attached to Sherman's headquarters, signed his name on the envelope, along with the General's initials, in acknowledgment of the receipt of the letter.

use of it by Brown mystifies me. It could hardly refer to Shiloh Church, Tennessee, near Pittsburg Landing."

In addition to owning the original Lincoln letter and envelope of September 19, 1864, the Foundation also has the War Department pass of the same date issued to "Hon. William Mitchell to Major Genl. Sherman's Headquarters and return." The pass (Not Transferable) and "By order of the Secretary of War" was signed by James A. Hardie, Col. and Inspt. Gen. U. S. A.

Sometime after the delivery of Lincoln's letter to Sherman, the following telegram was sent to the President by the courier:

Office U. S. Military Telegraph  
War Department

The following Telegram received at Washington 11:45  
a m Oct. 7, 1864

From Louisville  
Pres. Lincoln

I have succeeded very well.  
The skies are bright.

Wm. Mitchell

This telegram which is dated October 7, 1864, suggests that there must have been considerable delay in delivering Lincoln's letter of September 19, 1864.

Again on October 24, 1864, Mitchell communicated with the President in a letter in which, among other things, he mentioned his recent visit to Sherman's headquarters, "Having accomplished my mission and returned Home in time to vote at our State Election . . ."

Sherman, undoubtedly, understood Lincoln's suggestions to be a command. However, few soldiers in the field were furloughed. Next, Morton importuned Stanton who through the surgeon general granted furloughs to such men as were able to travel to Indiana. Their transportation, both ways, was to be paid by the government. The soldiers sent home gathered at the polls on election day. After frantic efforts, some 9,000 voted, a number large enough to have a considerable bearing on the outcome of the election. Some Democrats charged that in selecting soldiers for furloughs only those who promised to vote for Lincoln and Morton were allowed to go home. Another aspect of Morton's political strategy was to allow no new Indiana troops to be sent to the field until after the state election.

According to William B. Hesseltine in his book, *Lincoln And The War Governors*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, "The Nineteenth Regiment of Vermont Volunteers voted in Indiana that day (October 11th), but many a Democrat found his vote challenged."

Some of the sick and wounded soldiers arrived only a few days before the election, while others arrived on election day. The voters gave the Republicans a twenty thousand majority (Lincoln would carry the state in November with about the same majority) with Morton leading the ticket in every county. The results were that Indiana had been saved to the Union cause and that

Lincoln would win in Indiana in the November Presidential election. The draft had not been postponed, and it had created less dissatisfaction than had been feared.

Having been re-elected on October 11th, Morton telegraphed Lincoln and Stanton on October 12th: "In consideration of the fact that nearly all of the Indiana sick & wounded soldiers furloughed from Hospitals under your late order did not reach their homes until within a few days past & many not until yesterday & the day before leaving them little or no time to see their friends &

& families & secure the rest & recuperation they so much need on account of long & arduous Journey they have performed I most earnestly ask that their furloughs be extended by a special order until after the Presidential Election say Nov (10) tenth. If this is done I feel confident hundreds of them will return to the front able for active duty. If sent on the fifteenth inst they will be worse off than ever For the best interests of the service and the sake of humanity I earnestly hope this request will be granted & the order telegraphed to me as soon as possible."

The following day, October 13th, Lincoln replied to Governor Morton: "In my letter borne by Mr. Mitchell to Gen. Sherman, I said that any soldiers he could spare for October need not to remain for November. I therefore can not press the General on this point. All that the Sec. of War and Gen. Sherman feel they can safely do, I however, shall be glad of.

"Bravo, for Indiana, and for yourself personally."

Morton replied to Lincoln's telegram which he received October 13th at 1:00 p. m. as follows: "I fear you misapprehend my dispatch of yesterday I only asked that the sick & wounded who are furloughed under Mr. Stanton's order to the Surgeon Genl be allowed to remain Genl Sherman had nothing to do with sending them home & would not be strengthened any by their return now as they would all have to go into Hospitals again. It seems to me the order of extension asked for yesterday can be granted without consulting the Genl & without the least detriment, but rather benefit to the service Please let Mr Stanton see this & for God's sake let the order be made at once."

At 5:00 P. M. (October 13th) Morton telegraphed Lincoln and Stanton again, this time injecting a political note in his plea: "It is my opinion that the vote of every soldiers (sic) in Indiana will be required to carry this state for Mr. Lincoln in November. The most of them are sick and wounded and in no condition to render service and it is better to let them remain while they are here.

"It is important that this be answered immediately."

If Lincoln replied to Morton's two telegrams, such replies are not now extant and no record of any kind of a reply has been recorded. However, Morton was able to persuade Stanton to extend the soldiers furloughs until after the November election.

In March, 1929, when the Lincoln National Life Foundation purchased Lincoln's original letter to Sherman (value based on the appraisal of The Smith Book Company of Cincinnati, Ohio) from Mrs. Louise F. E. Mitchell of Kendallville, there was included in the sale, besides the envelope and the pass, two letters written by J. J. Brown dated March 15, 1888, and March 21, 1888, relative to the original letter. Why Sherman did not retain Lincoln's letter for his own files is a mystery.



The Brown letters are addressed to William Mitchell's son, John.

The March 15, 1888, letter follows:

New Albany, Indiana  
March 15, 1888

John Mitchell, Esq  
Kendallville  
My dear Sir:

Yours 13th inst received & in reply would say that I accompanied your father in the trip from Washington to Shilo. Two others were appointed. None went to Sherman's army but your father and myself. I shall be much pleased to have you send me Mr. Lincoln's letter to look at and which I will promptly return.

I hope I may sometime have the pleasure of meeting you as it would seem like renewing the acquaintance of your respected father, whose friendship I enjoyed very much.

Will you be at Chicago at the Convention in June? If so, and you send me your address, I will take pleasure in calling on you.

Very truly  
J. J. Brown

The March 21, 1888 letter follows:

New Albany, Indiana  
March 21, 1888

John Mitchell, Esq  
Kendallville  
My dear Sir:

Your esteemed favor 17th with Mr. Lincoln's letter duly received, and I assure you it has been a very great pleasure to me & some of my friends to peruse this paper and look upon that grand man's signature. I return the same herewith & sincerely trust it may reach you safely.

I am a constant reader of Hay & Nicolay in the Century and have been intensely interested. If I go to Chicago I will let you know as I shall be much pleased to make your acquaintance.

Again thanking you for your thoughtfulness in this matter

I am Very truly  
J. J. Brown

Please send (sic) me postal saying you received the letter, as I shall be anxious until (sic) I know you have received it safely.

J. J. B.

What about the October state contests in Ohio and Pennsylvania? Perhaps Lincoln gave the best answer in a telegram to Lieut. Gen. Grant, on October 12, 1864: "Sec. of War not being in, I answer yours about election. Pennsylvania very close, and still in doubt on home vote. Ohio largely for us, with all the members of congress but two or three. Indiana largely for us. Governor, it is said by 15,000, and 8. of the eleven members of congress. Send us what you may know of your army vote."

Lincoln received a telegram from John W. Forney of Philadelphia (October 12th) after he had written Grant. "We will carry the state (Pennsylvania) in November high and dry by a large majority. Spirit of opposition 'dead broke.'"

The October election results revealed to astute politicians that, "Unless all human foresight fails, the election of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson is assured."

Editor's Note: For additional information concerning the October, 1864 elections and Lincoln's letter to Sherman, see *Lincoln Lore* Nos. 1136 and 1137. Also, see *Lincoln Lore* No. 1480, "Oliver P. Morton — Lincoln's Irritating Goad." Two books which were invaluable in the preparation of this article were Kenneth M. Stampp's *Indiana Politics During The Civil War*, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1949 and Emma Lou Thornbrough's *Indiana In The Civil War Era, 1850-1880*, Indiana Historical Bureau & Indiana Historical Society, 1965.

## Monaghan No. 8

Some Lincoln publications elude collectors for years only to turn up in the most unexpected places. Such is the history of a copy of Monaghan No. 8, which was published in 1854 and was acquired by the Foundation last month.

The bibliographer listed the item as follows:

(Abraham Lincoln) Illinois) House. (18th Assem. Canal Claims. Communication from the Governor, Transmitting the Report of the Commissioners appointed to investigate Canal Claims; also, the Attorneys' reports on same. (Letter of transmittal signed Aug. C. French)

Cover title. (1854?) 8 3/4" x 5 1/4"; 52 p. IHi. Report of investigation by Commissioners Noah Johnson and Abraham Lincoln.

In the report of the commissioners (dated November 2, 1852), the statement is made that Noah Johnson of Mt. Vernon and A. Lincoln of Springfield would meet at Ottawa to take evidence of the claimants against the state, on account of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The date of the meeting was December 3, 1852.

*Lincoln Day By Day — A Chronology*, Volume II: 1849-1860, indicates that the commissioners met as required. On December 3, in Ottawa, Lincoln and Johnson took the oath prescribed in an act of the legislature of June 22, 1852, whereby they were appointed commissioners to hear the canal claims. Edwin S. Leland, judge of the Ninth Circuit, administered the oath.

Lincoln and Johnson next selected R. E. Goodell to assist them as a clerk, and they rented the sheriff's office in which to conduct the hearings. The hearings continued throughout the remainder of the month, though not continuously, and the two commissioners found it necessary to make two trips to Chicago to take additional testimony.

On January 7, 1853, Lincoln and Johnson submitted the report of their investigation to the legislature. Lincoln also presented his expense account which was \$65. for travel and \$4. per day for 21 days service.

While the 52 page pamphlet is not listed as one of the "100 Scarce Lincoln Books," it has taken the Foundation forty-five years to acquire a copy.

## Introducing The New Editor

This will be the concluding issue of *Lincoln Lore* edited by R. Gerald McMurtry who began the series with Number 1421 after the retirement of Dr. Louis A. Warren, in July, 1956. The new editor is Mark Neely, Jr., who will be appointed Director of the Lincoln Library-Museum of the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

Mr. Neely graduated *magna cum laude* from Yale in 1966 with a degree in American Studies and a student Western History Prize for his long essay on tactics, technology, and European influence on the United States Cavalry. In the fall of that year, he entered the Yale Graduate School to study American history. There his interest in Lincoln, slavery, the origins of the Whig and Republican parties, and secession was stimulated by courses in the history of the South and in nineteenth-century politics. As his early roots in the interdisciplinary approach of American Studies suggest, Mr. Neely was trained as an historian of ideas and, therefore, has special interests in Lincoln's political and religious ideas.

At present, Mr. Neely is completing his Ph. D. dissertation, "The Organic Theory of the State in American Political Thought, 1838-1918." Primarily a study of academic political thinkers, the thesis weighs the impact of the Civil War on American conceptions of nationhood. Abraham Lincoln's interpretation of the Civil War as well as the actual policies and practices of the Lincoln administration figure prominently in the background of the thesis.

Last year, Mr. Neely taught American history at Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa.

## Visit the Lincoln Library-Museum

With a new flexible work schedule and a four and one-half day work week for home office employees, the Lincoln Library-Museum will be open Monday through Thursday from 8:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. and on Friday from 8:00 A.M. to 12:30 P.M.

THE  
F. C. O.  
1881

